ENGAGE

Towards Effective, Coherent and Sustainable EU External Action: Laying the Ground for the ENGAGE White Paper

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**ENVISIONING A NEW
GOVERNANCE ARCHITECTURE
FOR A GLOBAL EUROPE**

Executive Summary

This paper serves as a starting point for the ENGAGE project, and in particular, its final output: the White Paper on Joined-up, Coherent, Sustainable and Effective EU External Action. The paper lays common ground for the project in two ways. First, drawing on primary documents and literature, the paper puts forward shared definitions of the effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of the EU's external action. Over the next three years, the ENGAGE consortium will engage in research on various aspects of the EU's external action following the definitions presented in this paper. Furthermore, the publication also reflects on how indicators can be developed to assess whether various areas of the EU's external action achieve the objectives of effectiveness, coherence and sustainability.

Second, this study lays the foundation for the final product of the ENGAGE project – the White Paper, which will be published in 2024, providing recommendations on how to accommodate multiple action domains for effective, coherent and sustainable external action. The ENGAGE project understands a White Paper as: an actionable programme for the EU, addressing specific problems and solutions in a particular policy area and supplying detailed policy recommendations to operationalise proposed solutions. The present paper also discusses the scope and content of the planned strategic document, as well as its specific objectives and the features that distinguish it from similar publications by other think thank experts and academics. In particular, this study reflects on the envisaged validation process of the White Paper, which will precede its dissemination, and aim to gather insights and feedback from a wide range of stakeholders on the proposed policy recommendations.

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1   Introduction[1]

Change has become an inherent part of the international order, which has been undergoing multifaceted transformations for at least two decades (see i.a., Lake, 2020; Gray, 2019; Mearsheimer 2019) and, some argue, may be moving towards a multi-order one (Flockhart, 2016). The global order is characterised by a number of trends, such as the geoeconomic rivalry between China and the United States, the shift of global gravity towards the East and South due to the demographic changes and relative population declines in developed countries, the increasingly negative effects of climate change intensifying natural disasters and contributing to the displacement of millions of people annually, technical revolutions changing financial flows and economic interdependencies, and the nature and source of global threats as well as the varying types and features of warfare (see also: Müller et al., 2021).

The European Union, with its 27 Member States, constitutes one of the key actors of international relations. Yet the ongoing trends profoundly change the environment the EU operates in and determine the EU's positioning in the global arena and hence, its ability to carry out its external action. Among the many unknowns and uncertainties that characterise the future of the EU, there is one thing we can be fairly certain of: in light of the Union's declining demographic and economic importance, a necessary condition for it to effectively co-shape the international order is its ability to execute external action in a joined-up, coherent and sustainable way. Only in this way will the EU be able to become a stronger global actor, making a significant contribution to the international environment and avoid the scenario where it becomes the subject of interactions between more powerful actors.

This premise constitutes the point of departure for the ENGAGE project, which aims to provide guidance and recommendation for how the Union can harness all its tools and make its external action more coherent, sustainable and effective. Based on a comprehensive examination of all dimensions of the EU's external action (i.a., Common Foreign and Security Policy with Common Security and Defence Policy; external action as traditionally defined – in terms of trade, development and humanitarian assistance; and traditional internal policy areas in which the EU is increasingly developing peripheral and sectoral diplomacies) the project will submit a White Paper on Joined-up, Coherent, Sustainable and Effective EU External Action. The document will offer tailored policy recommendations and will be discussed with experts and policymakers in Brussels and in the capitals of the EU, with the hope of advancing the debate on the Union's external performance.

Against this backdrop, the overarching goal of this working paper is to establish a common ground for the research conducted within the ENGAGE project by putting forward the definitions of effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of EU external action and by debating the indicators that can be developed to assess whether various areas of the EU's external action fulfil the criteria of effectiveness, coherency and sustainability. As an in-depth analysis of the different areas of the Union's external engagement will inform the policy options presented in the White Paper, this study lays the foundation for the final product of the ENGAGE project.

The working paper is structured as follows. The second part is dedicated to the definitions of effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of the EU's external action. The three notions are at the core of the ENGAGE project. Drawing on existing literature and on documents, strategies and speeches published by the EU[2], we first present a brief taxonomy of these three notions. Against the background of the taxonomical analysis, we then put forward their definitions complemented by tangible examples of what effective, coherent and sustainable external policies mean in practice. The purpose of the presentation of the three definitions is to propose a joint understanding of these three notions for the further work within the ENGAGE project. Drawing on primary and secondary sources including EU strategic documents and communications, as well as academic and think tank literature, we introduce consistent proposals for understanding these three concepts with regard to the EU's external action, which are intended as a common reference point for research carried out within the ENGAGE project and will be applied to the study of different areas within EU external action. Next, we turn to the indicators and elaborate on the definitions of indicators for effectiveness, coherence and sustainability, providing reflections on how to develop them with regard to the EU's external action. The fourth and final part of this study is dedicated to considerations on the envisioned White Paper that will be published in 2024. The White Paper will provide recommendations on how to accommodate multiple action domains in an effective, coherent and sustainable external action. We begin by defining our understanding of what a White Paper is and discussing the scope and content of the planned strategic document, as well as its specific objectives and the features that distinguish it from similar white papers published by other think thank experts and academics. In the conclusion, we summarise the purpose of the working paper and point to the next steps in the process of developing the final White Paper.

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[2] A list of the reviewed EU documents and speeches is presented in Appendix 1.

2   Definitions

In this part we focus on the definitions of three notions that are indispensable for the Union's global performance: effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of EU external action. As indicated above, to put forward the concepts, we reviewed four kinds of sources:

- Strategic documents published since 2015 by the European Commission, the Council of the European Union and the EEAS relating to the CFSP and the CSDP, along with a broad range of thematic areas related to external action, including maritime security, neighbourhood policy, multilateralism, connectivity, technology and human rights;
- Speeches delivered since 2015 by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the President of the European Commission concerning any area of EU's external action;
- The academic literature published after the Treaty of Lisbon came to force, including handbooks, monographs as well as articles from leading academic journals such as "Journal of Common Market Studies", "Journal of European Public Policy" and "Journal of European Integration";
- Google Scholar database with the advanced search for keywords relating to the effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of the EU's external action.

In the following sections, we first present a taxonomy of these three concepts that outlines the general understanding of these terms and presents the context in which they are mentioned in EU documents and speeches of the EU officials. We then move on to three definitions and illustrate with selected examples what each term can mean in practice and in relation to the four major dimensions of the EU's external action the ENGAGE project talks about: Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), External Action (i.a., trade, development and humanitarian aid) and External Action Plus (i.a., competition, climate change and research).

2.1   Taxonomical Analysis

In the EU documents reviewed for the project, the three notions considered in the research (effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of EU external action) lack a clear definition. Thus, they are not utilised uniformly but come with a variety of meanings. The same word or semantic expression is used in different policy papers with different connotations, sometimes even within contexts which are comparable or identical. This section classifies the different uses of the concepts encountered in the EU documents via a taxonomical analysis. The table summarises the various meanings of the three notions and the detailed discussion follows.

Table 1: Taxonomical Analysis of Use of Effectiveness, Coherence, Sustainability in Strategic Documents and Speeches Published by the EU and its Institutions

Effectiveness	Coherence	Sustainability
Effectiveness related to implementation and enforcement. Effectiveness as capacity of the global governance system to be sound and deliver results. Definition of effectiveness overlapping with coherence (effectiveness of coordination). Other usages of effectiveness referring to the capacity of a policy, legislation, or institution to deliver results (residual).	Coherence between the EU action and Member State action (e.g., development cooperation). Coherence between Member State action (e.g., CFSP). Coherence between the action of different EU administrations and policies Coherence between different EU objectives (e.g., trade and sustainable development).	Definition by reference to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Sustainability as environmental protection without reference to SDGs. Sustainability referring to human rights/economic equality. Sustainability referring to foreign policy. Sustainability applied with different meanings which are not always evident from the policy paper (sustainability in time).

Source: own compilation

Considering effectiveness, the research identified four main uses of the concept. First, at times the documents studied employ effectiveness as a synonym of coherence via expressions such as "coherence of coordination". Second, effectiveness is used with reference to implementation and enforcement. This refers to legal enforcement of EU legislation but also more generally to the capacity of the EU to achieve its objectives. Third, effectiveness is used to consider the capacity of the global governance system to deliver result and be solid. Finally, the notion of effectiveness is used in a plethora of other situations referring to the capacity of a policy, legislation or institution to deliver results. In all of the last three uses, effectiveness refers to the capacity to deliver results and achieve objectives. Effectiveness is used to refer to a variety of different policies and contexts (e.g., EU legislation, global governance).

Considering the meaning of coherence, four main uses of the term can be found in the documents. Firstly, the documents utilise coherence to measure the extent of which an action of the EU is aligned to the interests of Member States. In these situations, the question emerges if the Member State is acting within the wider objectives decided at EU level. Secondly, coherence is used to look at the capacity of Member States of aligning their own policy actions. In the CFSP in particular, Member States have a wide policy space to execute decisions taken at an EU level without the legal constraints existing in other policy areas. As in some of the situations of shared competences, the problem emerges of whether and to

what extent Member States are able to operate without contradicting actions and objectives. Thirdly, coherence can be observed also between different administrations of the EU. For instance, between different organs such as the European Commission or the European Parliament or different administrative structures within the same organs. For instance, different directorate generals of the European Commission might be working on overlapping issues and the question emerges on whether or not such different administrative bodies are conflicting between each other. Finally, coherence includes situations where the EU is pursuing different objectives within the same policy area. The question emerges then to what extent the different objectives are compatible and do not conflict between each other. An example of this problem is the EU common trade policy which today, besides the traditional commercial objectives, aspires also to protect the environment and promote sustainable development.

Finally, the EU documents that are the object of this research apply the notion of sustainability in a plethora of ways. We identify five main uses of the concept. First, sustainability is used with reference the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and to the indicators created within that specific policy and its incorporation within EU policy making. This means that within this utilisation of the term, sustainability incorporates the different meanings included in the SDG's objectives. These include environmental sustainability, economic and social sustainability, as well as a stable and equitable global order. Secondly, sustainability is used specifically with a reference to the protection of the environment and fight against climate change, without references to the SDGs. In this case, sustainability acquires the traditional meaning of sustainable development, namely 'the capacity of humans to live and develop in the long term in a way that respects the planet'. Thirdly, sustainability acquires the meaning of supporting the respect of human rights as well as gender equality, economic equality and labour standards. In this case, the EU documents refer to these issues without mentioning the SDGs, even if some of the objectives of the SDG strategy could indeed be linked with these concepts and values. Fourthly, sustainability is utilised with specific reference to foreign policy and referring to a stable international relations environment that supports peace and cooperation between states. Reference is also made to international organisations as an expression of sustainable cooperation to which the EU should contribute. Also, in this case, similar concepts are contained in the SDG objectives even if the EU documents do not mention them. Finally, sustainability is used with different meanings which are not always evident in the documents. These are situations where the texts refer to standard and more general semantic meanings of sustainability such as sustainability in time.

The lack of tangible definitions of the three notions in the EU documents and speeches of the EU officials makes it necessary to consult academic literature. Taxonomic analysis therefore provides the background for understanding the multidimensionality of effectiveness, coherence and sustainability within EU external action, but the definitions presented below are primarily informed by the scholarship.

2.2 Effectiveness

As already indicated in the taxonomical analysis, various meanings are ascribed to the notion of effectiveness in the EU documents and speeches with regard to the external action of the Union. Yet, the term is not clearly defined by Union's discourse and used with different meanings and in various contexts. In some cases, this notion is used interchangeably with coordination, as for example in the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy 2020-2024 (Council of the European Union, 2020), which grasps effectiveness as "coordinated action of all actors and stakeholders" such as the High Representative/Vice-President (HRVP), assisted by the European External Action Service, the European Commission, the Council and the Member States. Effectiveness is also frequently linked with implementation of various EU policies that fall within the scope of external action such as cybersecurity (European Commission, 2020) or maritime security strategy (Council of the European Union, 2018).

The multifaceted nature of the term is also apparent in the literature: as Adcock and Collier argued, "EU effectiveness resembles a 'background concept', which encompasses the constellation of potentially diverse meanings associated with it" (Adcock & Collier, 2001, p. 530). Over the recent two decades, scholars have tried to determine the definition of effectiveness in different directions and have distinguished among outputs (activities, policies, regulations), outcomes (performance, implementation) and impacts (goal attainment, problem-solving and change) (Parker, Persson & Widmalm, 2019, p. 1320). Regarding the area of EU external action, one of the most general definitions has been provided by Thomas, who perceived effectiveness of EU's foreign policy as "the Union's ability to shape world affairs in accordance with the objectives it adopts on particular issues" (Thomas, 2012, p. 460). In the same vein, and drawing on IR literature, Conceição-Heldt and Meunier defined external effectiveness as "the ability to influence outcomes – that is, to obtain the result closest to one's reservation value while minimising the bargaining costs" (da Conceição-Heldt & Meunier, 2014, p. 968). They examined the Union's effectiveness in international negotiations and proposed effectiveness to be measured against the collective position, as defined by the specific EU decision-making rules applicable in a certain policy field (ibid.). Also, Oberthür and Rabitz claimed that goal achievement is fundamental for Union's effectiveness in international organisations (Oberthür & Rabitz, 2014). The achievement of goals has been defined elsewhere as the extent to which the Union is able to deliver on declared objectives (Jørgensen, Oberthür & Shahin, 2011, p. 603-604). This perception of effectiveness has also been applied in a special issue of "International Relations" edited by Niemann and Bretherton (2013), which constitutes one of the most comprehensive studies of the effectiveness of the EU's external action so far. The authors have examined the concept in different areas of external policies such as humanitarian aid (Carbone, 2013), trade (Elsig, 2013), negotiations on international food standards (van Schaik, 2013) and CFSP (Edwards, 2013). Thus, there seems to be an agreement in the literature that the achievement of goals constitutes a central element of the effectiveness of EU's external action.

Other scholars have pointed to two more dimensions that this notion might include: the Union's leadership capacity, defined as the extent to which the EU is considered a relevant actor by

third parties and is able to gain their support e.g. in international institutions; and external cohesion understood as the ability of EU actors to 'sing the same tune' in support of a common position and act collectively in multilateral settings (Romanyshyn, 2015; Smith, 2010).

For the purposes of the ENGAGE project, we propose to adopt a broad definition of the effectiveness of EU external action and perceive it as the Union's ability to influence world affairs in accordance with its objectives and to produce a desired result. At the same time, to better differentiate this notion from the concept of coherence, we consider effectiveness to be always linked to outputs and outcomes of the Union's policies towards third countries. As such, the notion also differs from its sister concept – efficiency, which is defined as a ratio reflecting a comparison of outputs accomplished to the costs incurred therefor (Jørgensen, Oberthür & Shahin, 2011, p. 603).

Thus, drawing on the presented literature and on the review of the EU documents presented in the previous part of the paper, we adopt two first dimensions of effectiveness: goal achievement and leadership capacity. Such a wide-ranging definition offers flexibility and allows for accommodation of various aspects of the effectiveness within the multiple areas of the EU's external action. In the following table, we present a few examples of what effective performance can mean with regard to the four building blocks of the Union's external action along the two dimensions: goal achievement and leadership capacity.

Table 1: Exemplary Illustrations of Effectiveness across the EU's External Action

CSDP	The extent to which CSDP military operations achieve the objectives communicated in the Council conclusions with regard to launching the missions. Technical and political partnerships with third countries via PESCO projects on the priorities set by the EU.
CFSP	The extent to which CFSP instruments (restrictive measures, political dialogue etc.) achieve their objectives communicated in the Council conclusions launching the missions. Persuading third countries to join EU-designed policies such as sanctions.
External action	The extent to which trade agreements, development and humanitarian programs achieve the objectives set by the European Commission. Joint development of humanitarian aid projects with third countries and international organisations in line with EU priorities.
External action plus	Differs widely for every policy in this layer.

Source: own compilation

As presented above, the ambiguity of this notion and the fact that the degree of external effectiveness is not a binary measure makes assessment of the effectiveness of EU's external action difficult (Romanyshyn 2015; Jørgensen, Oberthür & Shahin, 2011; Niemann & Bretherton, 2013; Parker, Persson & Widmalm, 2019). Taking the Union's effectiveness in international negotiations as an example: to operationalise external effectiveness in this context, the actual outcome of an international negotiation should be compared with what the true objectives of the EU were in this case (da Conceição-Heldt & Meunier, 2014, p. 968-969). This is, however, very difficult to carry out, since written objectives cannot be taken at face value. Several scholars tried to address the challenge of assessing the effectiveness of the EU's external action by reflecting its determinants. For example, some studies assumed that there is a positive correlation between "internal cohesiveness" of the European Union, meaning the ability to speak with one voice[3], and the effectiveness of its external action (Niemann & Bretherton, 2013; Jørgensen, Oberthür & Shahin, 2011; Thomas, 2012). However, as Conceição-Heldt and Meunier showed, the international context in which the EU functions, including the bargaining configuration and the policy arena, constitutes an intervening variable and impacts the possible causal link between internal cohesiveness and the effectiveness of the EU's external action (Conceição-Heldt & Meunier, 2014). More precisely, internal cohesiveness proved to be enough for the EU as a regional power in the neighbourhood, but when the EU acted as a global actor in international organisations, it proved to be an insufficient condition for effective action (ibid.). Other scholars have pointed to further determinants of the EU's external effectiveness such as the character of the multilateral system, which can constrain or enhance the effectiveness of the EU's external action (Kissack, 2010; Elsig, 2013) or the issue of EU internal policy development (Jørgensen, Oberthür & Shahin, 2011). Thus, while examining the effectiveness of EU external action – a multidimensional policy domain – one must consider the various variables that might impact the effectiveness of the EU with respect to different areas of its external action.

2.3 Coherence

The EU documents and speeches by EU officials that talk at length about the coherence of the EU's external action ascribe very different meanings to this concept. For example, in the European Union's Global Strategy, coherence is mentioned in reference to three different dimensions: the need to improve the coordination between the EU and its Member States; the importance of improving the consistency and complementarity between various mechanisms and instruments of EU's external action with internal policies, such as border management, homeland security, asylum, employment, culture and education; and the necessity of coordination between the EU and other international organisations such as NATO with respect to defence investments or the UN in terms of programming of the development aid (European Union External Action Service, 2016).

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[3] A more detailed discussion of the notion of "internal cohesiveness" and its similarities with the concept of "coherence" follows in the next section.

As in the case of the notion of effectiveness, the ambiguity of the concept of coherence is also reflected in the scholarship which has fiercely debated its meaning for quite some time. In general, coherence is considered an essential factor for the EU to operate and scholars have pointed out that the desire to increase the coherence of the Union's external action has been a key factor driving institutional reforms in the recent two decades. The Lisbon Treaty is a prominent example of such development since it, among others, formally removed the pillar structure of the Union's foreign policy and transformed the office of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy into an inter-institutional position responsible for enhancing coherence across external policy domains (Edwards, 2013; Reynaert, 2012; Morillas, 2019).

At the same time, the literature on European integration looks at the concept in more detail and puts forward three similar yet different notions that relate to the Union's ability to speak with one voice: cohesion, consistency and coherence of the EU's external action. Their definitions differ largely across the scholarship. In, most cases, cohesion is associated with the reduction of regional and social disparities leading to greater convergence of preferences of the Member States regarding the EU's external priorities (Hooghe, 1996), whereas consistency is defined as "the assurance that different policies do not (legally) contradict each other" (Reynaert, 2012, p. 207) meaning that the EU policies in one area should not undermine or cut across policies in other areas (Nuttall, 2000). With respect to the understating of coherence in the EU's external action, there seems to be a consensus in the literature oriented around the definition put forward by Gebhard (Gebhard, 2011, 2017). She defined coherence as a higher stage of structural harmonisation and differentiated between four types of this phenomenon: vertical coherence – concertation of specific policies with general EU political commitments; horizontal coherence – concertation between institutional entities at the same hierarchical level; internal coherence – integration of technical procedures within a policy area; and external coherence – consistency with which the EU presents itself to third parties. In other words, coherence not only means "the avoidance of contradictions, but also 'a quest for synergy and added value in the different components of EU policies" (Hillion, 2008, p. 10).

Several authors built on Gebhard's definition and adopted it for the examination of different areas of EU external action (Portela & Raube, 2011; Marangoni & Raube, 2014; da Conceição-Heldt & Meunier, 2014; Niemann & Bretherton, 2013). Based on their research insights and on a review of EU documents, as well as bearing in mind the multidimensional nature of the EU's external action embraced by the ENGAGE project which requires an overarching but easy to implement definition, we propose to understand the coherence of EU external action in two dimensions:

- Horizontal coherence between different polces of the Union, their objectives and their implementation: the EU's capacity to coordinate and manage policies and institutions that are involved in the pursuit of Union's external objectives.
- Vertical coherence between the EU and the Member States: The EU's capacity to work together with Member States on the pursuit of external objectives and to coordinate between the foreign policies of the Member States and the foreign policy of the EU.

In both dimensions, coherence remains vital to the EU's capability and capacity to engage in external action (Niemann & Bretherton, 2013, p. 271) and is related to both the input/process and output/impact of these policies. More precisely, in case of the horizontal coherence, the process of coordinated policy development between various EU institutions involved in the making of external policies matters equally with the process of a coherent implementation of the EU's external objectives by different EU actors and across various policy domains. In terms of vertical coherence, both cooperation between the EU and Member States in developing EU external policies and joint implementation of external instruments at EU and national level are important.

The table below provides examples of the manifestations of horizontal and vertical coherence for the four layers of EU's external action envisaged in the ENGAGE project.

Table 3: Exemplary Illustrations of Coherence across the EU's External Action.

	Horizontal	Vertical
CSDP	Coordination between EEAS, EDA and the European Commission regarding preparations of PESCO projects and funds available to support them within the European Defence Fund. Coordinated implementation of projects carried out within PESCO.	Coordination of defence planning between the EDA and Member States' defence ministries. Coordination between CSDP missions and individual military operations carried out by the Member States.
CFSP	Coordination across the EU institutions to put forward restrictive measures against a third country. Joint communication from various EU representatives with respect to the implementation of a sanction regime.	Alignment of positions represented by the EU delegation and the embassies of the Member States towards a third country. "One voice" of the EU and the Member States on policy issues at the UN.
External Action	Application of the humanitarian-development-peace nexus approach by various DG's in the EC. Coordination between the implementation of development aid and conduction of policy dialogue on human rights in a third country.	Putting forward the European Consensus on Development. Ensuring that the EC and Member States speak in one voice regarding trade disputes.
External action +	Differs widely for every policy in this layer.	Differs widely for every policy in this layer.

Source: own compilation

2.4 Sustainability

Although sustainability is a frequent object of study in international relations, the term remains poorly defined when it is applied to the specific fields of foreign policy and (EU) external action. The following pages reveal the current use of the concept of sustainability in relation to EU external action and propose a novel definition of sustainable EU external action, comprising an overarching base concept and four dimensions. Finally, a set of illustrations shows how the definition can be operationalised in the four policy layers of the EU's external action, as applied in the ENGAGE project.

As already indicated in the taxonomy section, sustainability is a term widely used in EU strategic documents related to its external action[4]. However, as with the case of effectiveness and coherence, despite the fact that the EU's policies, plans and strategies are increasingly described as sustainable or designed to boost sustainability, the term is not clearly defined, and is indeed employed in a plethora of ways[5]. To provide just one example of this, the Council conclusions on the EU's strategy towards the Indo-Pacific make references to sustainable finance, a sustainable and effective multilateral trading system, sustainable and inclusive socio-economic recovery and sustainable management of natural resources (Council of the European Union, 2021).

Academic literature exploring the sustainability of foreign policy or external action is relatively scarce[6], and when research does touch on the sustainability of policies, the concept remains largely ill-defined and its relevance to foreign policy under-researched. Surprisingly, even in the few instances where sustainability was explored directly in relation to foreign policy, the concept was not defined or discussed (McIntyre, 2002; Keyman, 2009). A significant exception to this trend is the study of 'sustainable peace', a concept developed in the post-Cold War era, amid a growing number of protracted conflicts (Peck, 1998 in Manners, 2008). 'Sustainable

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[4] See the taxonomical analysis in section 2.1 for an overview of the uses of sustainability in EU documents.

[5] Among the documents reviewed for this study, the HR/VP's communication on building blocks for an EU strategy connecting Europe and Asia (European Union 2018) comes closest to a definition for sustainability, though applied specifically to the topic of connectivity: "Sustainable connectivity. To drive productivity and create growth and jobs, connectivity investments need to ensure market efficiency and be fiscally viable. To respond to the challenges of climate change and environmental degradation, it has to promote decarbonisation of the economy and respect high standards, based on environmental impact assessments. To further social progress, it needs to adhere to high standards of transparency and good governance and give a voice to the people affected by the projects, based on appropriate public consultations. Connectivity policies should reduce negative externalities, such as environmental impact, congestion, noise, pollution and accidents. In short, connectivity has to be economically, fiscally, environmentally and socially sustainable in the long term." (p.2)

[6] An advanced Google Scholar search returned only one article including the words "sustainability" and "external action" in the title; articles including "sustainability" or "sustainable" and "foreign policy" in the title were also scarce, with 12 and 44 results respectively.

peace' involves addressing not only the symptoms, but also the structural drivers of conflict, to ensure peace is durable in the long-term (Manners, 2008). It was Manners (2006, 2008) who brought sustainable peace to the EU context, arguing that the EU had, de facto, been committing to and implementing this concept, as it epitomises the Union's approach to conflict prevention at home and abroad. Importantly, 'sustainable peace' opens the door to considering not only the sustainability of the policy in the short term, but also of its impact in the long-term. Finally, a number of think tank reports have addressed the idea of sustainable foreign policy more directly. For example, an Adelphi report from 2018 argues that "Sustainable Foreign Policy supports holistic SDG implementation and external action" and is guided by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Carius et al., 2018). Similarly, Cops & Buytaert (2019) explore the concept of sustainability in relation to EU Defence Cooperation. Their brief identifies key aspects of sustainability, such as its time aspect or durability, and proposes measures to advance toward sustainable defence cooperation, such as building consensus. However, the paper does not provide a definition of sustainability in foreign policy.

In sum, sustainability and external action are increasingly examined in tandem in existing primary and secondary literature; however, our review did not reveal any sources providing a comprehensive, generally accepted and clear definition that would enable an analyst to distinguish between external action that is sustainable and external action that is not. To fill this gap, in the following, we propose a novel definition of sustainable external action, comprising an overarching base concept complemented by a number of applied dimensions, and building on literature from other fields, such as ecology, development studies and management. At its foundation, we understand sustainability in external action as "the quality of being able to continue over a period of time" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). This simple and overarching understanding of sustainability establishes the base condition: the temporal dimension of sustainability, that is, the ability of a certain policy to endure. At the same time, this foundation is sufficiently broad to allow for the incorporation of other elements.

On the one hand, while many definitions stress the environmental aspect of sustainability, the understanding offered by the Cambridge dictionary is sufficiently broad to include different dimensions: environmental, social, political and economic. On the other hand, while certain conceptions would measure the sustainability of a policy only through its outcome or long-term impact, building our definition from a foundation of temporal durability allows for a 360º view. A policy is sustainable if its results are lasting (as in the concept of 'sustainable peace'), but these results can only be sustained and indeed achieved if the input side of the policy (basic requirements such as sufficient resources or political support) is fulfilled. Not only this: if external action is to be sustainable, the outcome of previous policies arguably needs to keep the window sufficiently open so that adequate input can be generated for the next iteration.

The sustainability of external action can be measured along four distinct dimensions. A narrow definition of a sustainable external action might, for example, consider only environmental aspects when determining whether a policy can continue over a period of time, and might focus only on the output and impact of that policy. A more holistic definition, however, might include environmental, social, economic and political dimensions and might consider whether

a policy is sustainable not only from an output, but also an input perspective. Below, we provide a look at literature from other fields on these dimensions; afterwards, we apply these concretely to the field of sustainability of external action.

An understanding of sustainability involving three pillars or dimensions – the social, economic and environmental – is prevalent in policymaking as well as in academic literature (Purvis, Mao & Robinson, 2019). For instance, the UN and other international organisations have explicitly adopted this tripartite understanding of sustainability in relation to the SDGs (UN General Assembly, 2015). Scholars have discussed these three dimensions and incorporated them in a variety of fields, ranging from management to ecology. Brown et al. (1987) provide a definition for each: the 'social' dimension includes the "continued satisfaction of basic human needs, as well as of higher level social and cultural necessities such as security, freedom, education". The 'ecological' dimension focuses on the "continued productivity and functioning of ecosystems" and the 'economic' pillar involves resolving "the limitations that a sustainable society must place on economic growth".

In addition to these three established pillars of sustainability, some scholars have begun to explore other dimensions[7]. For example, Broniatowski & Weigel (2006) discuss the political aspect of sustainability: they argue that "politically sustainable actions simultaneously build support for, and advance, an item on the political agenda". They also note that "actions that are not politically sustainable advance a current agenda item at the expense of future support". Hence, there is inherently an input and an output side to the political dimension of sustainability: a policy can only be implemented and sustained with enough public and elite support on the policymaking side, and – particularly when it comes to maintaining a policy for a certain duration – with public and elite support in the territory or area where the policy is being implemented.

While the multifaceted understanding of sustainability is widespread both in academic literature and in policymaking practice, these frameworks have not been explored systematically in relation to external action. The use of the three pillars in a wide variety of areas has generated a broad and diverse understanding of the concept, which requires adaptation so as to be applicable to foreign policy (Purvis, Mao & Robinson, 2019).

To sum up, for the purposes of the ENGAGE project, sustainable EU external action is external action that can continue over a period of time. This durability is defined both in the sense of how long a policy can continue to be implemented (which depends largely on input factors) and how lasting the impact of the policy is (which depends largely on policy design and ultimate implementation). The sustainability of a policy is measured through four dimensions. First, the policy must benefit from sufficient political support among the general public and policymaking elites - both in the polities that approve the policy and its implementation, and in the polities where the policy is implemented. Second, the environmental impact of the policy

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[7] E.g. cultural, institutional and technical dimensions, see for instance page 685
https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11625-018-0627-5.pdf

must be explicitly considered and its negative externalities minimised as much as possible, both in terms of the materials used in the implementation of the policy (e.g., flights, military material) and in terms of the impact of the action on the ground. Third, a policy is sustainable when enough economic resources are dedicated to its implementation and when the economic consequences of a policy (e.g., the domestic and external impact of economic sanctions) can be withstood for a sufficiently long period of time. Fourth, a policy is sustainable when its social impact – in terms of the impact of the policy on human rights and living conditions in the place of implementation – is explicitly considered and potential negative social and societal effects are minimised while positive social impact is sought. The matrix below provides examples of the application of sustainability to the different layers of EU's external action.

Table 4: Exemplary Illustrations of Sustainability across the EU's External Action

	Environmental	Social	Economic	Political
CSDP	Consideration of climate change as a conflict multiplier in regional foreign policy. Consideration of environmental impact of military material and operations.	Comprehensive approach to security (incl. human security, gender) during policy design.	Financially viable and efficient in the long-run.	Public opinion support (domestic and target country). Awareness of local political conditions in target country.
CFSP	Consideration of the climate impact of diplomacy (e.g., flights).	Mitigate negative social externalities of policies in target countries (e.g., sanctions).	Financially viable and efficient in the long-run. Consideration of how long economic sanctions can be sustained (impact of sanctions on sanction-emitting actors).	Public opinion support. Policymaker support.
External Action	Climate diplomacy. Environmental impact of FTAs.	Societal impact of FTAs. Consideration of the sustainable development paradigm.	Diversification of trade partners. Cost-effective humanitarian action.	Public opinion support (e.g., for trade agreements). Attractiveness of the EU as a development provider.
External action plus	Differs widely for every policy.	Differs widely for every policy.	Differs widely for every policy.	Differs widely for every policy.

Source: own compilation

Concluding the reflections on the definition of sustainability, we would like to address the concept of resilience, which is closely related to sustainability and has recently attracted substantive scholarly attention (Bargués, 2021; Juncos, 2017; Baldaro & Costantini, 2020; Tonra, 2018). Both concepts originated in fields other than political science/international relations, and both include an element of durability: that is, they refer to the capacity of a policy (sustainability) or an institution (resilience) to continue over a period of time. However, there are also substantial differences between resilience and sustainability.

First, resilience implies recovery from state of stress or shock. The 2012 Commission communication on the EU approach to resilience defines it as "the ability of an individual, a household, a community, a country or a region to withstand, adapt and quickly recover from stresses and shocks"(European Commission, 2017a). As Tonra (2018) notes, in its original understanding in psychology, resilience is understood as an "individual's capacity for dealing with unexpected tragedy or loss"; migrated to social sciences, resilience relates to how societies can improve "their capacity to resist, respond and regenerate". Although a sustainable policy must of course be able to withstand pressures in order to continue in the long run, sustainability is more comprehensive, reaching beyond the capacity to withstand shock to other attributes of the policy itself. Second, resilience is clearly related to the input dimension of a policy, and more specifically, to the capacity of an organisation to withstand a shock. As the EUISS puts it, "resilience implies the institutional capacity to adjust to challenges and recover from them" (Gaub & Popescu, 2017). Resilience is therefore more an attribute of the organisation than of a policy; whereas a sustainable foreign policy can indeed refer to a particular policy itself (the output dimension). Hence, resilience can be seen as part of sustainability, to the extent that a foreign policy cannot be sustainable if it is unable to resist external challenges and if its institutional machinery is not strong enough. Yet, as we presented in this section, sustainability is a broader and more comprehensive term.

3 Indicators

Indicators are objective ways to quantify and measure specific goals, targets and objectives—or any other concept needed to be measured—, so as to monitor progress and carry out evaluations. Indicators operationalise unobservable realities, thereby enabling a rigorous exploration of social reality, which is able to specify whether certain characteristics are present or goals have been achieved. Importantly, the definition of the concept to be measured must be as precise as possible to aid the construction of its indicator(s) (Newcomer, Hatry & Wholey, 2015). With respect to our interest in this paper, the concepts we wish to measure are the effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of the EU's external action.

Three components are necessary to construct indicators: (i) the concept to be measured—a goal, a target, a characteristic…—; (ii) the nature (or type) of the indicator to be used, as in whether it is ordinal (e.g., a ranking), an interval (e.g., count or weight), a coefficient (e.g., speed, efficiency, or productivity), or a composite (e.g., a formula); and (iii) the information source of the indicator, i.e. the sources from which the information can be retrieved to feed the indicator (Anthony, Govindarajan & Dearden, 2007).

This paper fulfils the first component necessary to build an indicator, since it goes to great length to define the concepts of interest in a specific and detailed way. As the ENGAGE research advances and as policy recommendations begin to be distilled from the various Work Packages, it will become possible to develop specific and concrete indicators with these underlying concepts as their base. The definitions in this paper therefore provide the foundation to construct the indicators, which will be of a specific type and draw on specified sources of information.

An indicator to measure the effectiveness of a policy, for instance, must be capable of measuring whether the goal of the policy has been achieved. As such, an example of an effectiveness indicator related to an external policy—such as the trade policy with a given region—is how much exports of a given product have increased with that region, as compared to the planned goal. This indicator would be a ratio (actual export increases over planned export increases) and the source of such information would be Eurostat's trade data.

A possible indicator to measure the coherence of an external policy – such as trade with a given region – could be the number of other EU external policy areas (e.g., sustainable development or development aid) explicitly referred to in the trade agreement or trade implementation report. In such a case the type of indicator is a "count" and the sources of information necessary to feed the indicator are the specified documentation (agreement or implementation report).

As mentioned above, sustainability has different dimensions (environmental, social, economic and political). An example of an indicator to measure the environmental sustainability of an external policy, such as trade policy towards a particular country or region, is whether or not a trade agreement includes environmental clauses. In this case, the indicator is of a binary type and the source of information is the trade agreement itself. Further indicators could be added

to study the environmental impact of the policy on the ground. Additionally, an example of political sustainability of a trade policy towards a third country would be public support for an FTA among EU citizens. The indicator in this example could be the percentage of citizen support for the FTA, and the source of the information could be a survey.

An additional rule-of-thumb quality test for indicators has been used extensively in the applied management and policymaking fields: the acronym SMART that summarises how an appropriate indicator should be. Hence, an indicator must be specific, in that it must clearly and directly relate to the concept of interest. It has to be measurable, in some sense or another (see component (ii) above). The indicator needs to be achievable, the information necessary to feed it and any processing of the information must be realistically feasible. The indicator must also be relevant, so that it is directly related to the concept we wish to measure. Finally, it must also be timely, that is, the information necessary should be available in a timely manner. (European Commission, 2004)

The above example of an indicator for coherence, conforms to the SMART criterion: it is specific (and relevant) to the coherence concept of external action; it is measurable, since it is a count; it is achievable since the sources of information are in-house to the European Commission; it is relevant to measure coherence; and – lastly – the information can be accessed in a timely manner.

The White Paper to be produced by the ENGAGE project during its final stage will provide further examples of indicators related to the three concepts of interest – effectiveness, coherence and sustainability – to aid policymakers in building indicators to track the EU's external action.

4 Looking Ahead: The ENGAGE White Paper for Effective, Coherent and Sustainable EU External Action

The concluding section of this working paper elaborates on the expected outcome of the ENGAGE project – the White Paper on effective, coherent and sustainable EU external action, and discusses its objective and scope. At the same time, it should be noted that since the ambition of the ENGAGE project is to deliver a viable set of tailored policy recommendations, the reflections on the content of the White Paper presented here have a preliminary character. The final project outcome will build upon the up-to-date research conducted within the ENGAGE project and consider the political and socio-economic environment in which the EU and its Member States will be in 2024, when the White Paper will be published. Nevertheless, reflecting on the main elements of the final document allows us to identify its constituent elements and thus highlight the comparative advantage of this document over similar studies.

In the following paragraphs, we present our understanding of the concept of a White Paper and discuss the main goals, scope as well as content of the ENGAGE White Paper. We also provide insights on the process in which the document will be developed. In the end, we point out features that distinguish the outcome of the ENGAGE project from other similar studies conducted by the European Union's institutions and think tanks.

4.1 Definition

Historically, the term "white paper" or "white book" was used to refer to official government reports and its name originated when government papers were coded by colour to indicate distribution, with white designated for public access (Stanford Law School, 2015). The purpose of a white paper is primary to educate and inform and to provide a basis for further consultation and discussion with interested or affected groups. Over time the goal, target group and format of white papers have changed to fit specific applications within different disciplines and policy areas. Nowadays, the purpose of some white papers is not only to educate, but also to give recommendations, promote a certain position, or suggest concrete proposals for a specific policy area.

In the context of the EU and in particular the European Commission, White Papers are documents containing proposals for European Union action in a specific area (EUR-Lex, 2021). The purpose of a White Paper is to launch a debate with the public and with stakeholders such as the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council with the aim of reaching a political consensus around an issue at stake. Among the White Papers on different areas of EU External Action published by the EU institutions are: White Paper On Artificial Intelligence - A European approach to excellence and trust" (European Commission, 2020b), "On the way towards the European Defence Union" (Solana et al., 2016)"The Future of Europe – Reflections and scenarios for the EU27 by 2025" (European Commission, 2017c) , "Reflection

paper on the future of European Defence" (European Commission, 2017b) and "Shaping Europe's digital future" (European Commission, 2020a).

As there are many ways to understand the concept of a White Paper, we propose to define it by three characteristics that seem to be mostly helpful in the EU context. First, a White Paper constitutes an actionable programme for the European Union which focuses on a specific topic or policy area. Secondly, it discusses solutions that should be applied to tackle a problem at hand. Thirdly, it provides the Union with specific policy recommendations on how to operationalise the proposed solutions. These three defining features will also constitute the ENGAGE White Paper.

4.2   Objectives

With regard to the goals of the ENGAGE White Paper, its function will be threefold. Firstly, it will take stock of the rapidly changing environment of the Union by discussing the major international trends affecting the EU security, as well as questions of acceptability, which present the context for EU's external action. Secondly, drawing on the work carried out within the ENGAGE project, it will provide policy recommendations with regard to three aspects of EU's external action: the institutional framework and the governance structures both on the EU level and within the intersection of supranational level and the Member States; the strategic objectives and key goals that should guide an effective EU external action; and, finally, the policy mechanisms needed to improve the capacities and capabilities of the EU's external action. By proposing the aforementioned policy recommendations, the White Paper shall perform its third function and become a cornerstone for the development of sectoral strategies that will further explore the presented policy proposals and chart their implementation in specific policy areas.

At the same time, the three concepts identified by the ENGAGE project as key to strengthening the EU's global role - effectiveness, coherence and sustainability of EU external action - and the related indicators will guide the design and implementation of policy recommendations.

4.3   Scope and Content

The scope of the White Paper will be in line with its goals and will include three main parts. The first part will take stock of the current Union's security environment and discuss key drivers that are likely to influence EU's external involvement within the next 10 years and the resulting indicators that should be monitored for change, as well as questions of acceptability. In the second part, the White Paper will provide a strategic vision for enhanced EU external engagement which will address a wide set of critical objectives. It shall reinforce the EU's standing in an increasingly volatile international context; revise the existing governance structures and policy processes within every dimension of Union's external action; improve the coordination of the CFSP/CSDP, other layers of EU external action and the foreign policies of the Member States, in particular when engaging with global strategic partners; enhance the EU's engagement with its neighbourhood; boost the EU's capacities and capabilities in conflict

resolution, mediation and prevention; and bring together the sectoral diplomacies in traditionally internal policy areas within the joined-up frame of a coherent EU external action. Finally, the third part of the White Paper will provide a solid and actionable set of proposals for enhancing the coherence, effectiveness and sustainability of the different dimensions of EU external action. In other words, the policy recommendations will translate the vision outlined in the previous part of the White Paper into practice and thus they will concern various aspects of Union's external action.

4.4 Development Process

Since the White Paper will bring together all the results produced throughout the ENGAGE project, its elaboration will cover the entire project period. It begins with the development of this working paper, which sets the direction and provides the analytical orientation for the final product. Then, the development process continues through the research carried out under eight work packages led by international teams that address different dimensions of EU external action, its governance, legal challenges and policy issues. Since the individual aspects of the Union's external engagement remain highly interconnected, attention will be paid to continuous feedback loops and the mutual exchange of preliminary research insights between the work packages. In the next step, the results from the academic work will be discussed and consolidated into an initial draft of the White Paper. The draft will be then consulted with multiple stakeholders (as outlined in more detail below), whose feedback will be taken into account for the final text. A dissemination process aimed to reach the wide policy, expert and academic community in Brussels and in the Member States will follow.

4.5 Advantages Compared to Similar Publications

As already indicated above, several studies providing policy recommendations regarding the EU's external action have been published over the last decade, both by the EU[8] and by various European think tanks[9]. Therefore, it seems necessary to clarify what makes the White Paper of the ENGAGE project different from the existing analyses.

The first distinguishing feature is its scope. Both the ENGAGE project and the White Paper are guided by a comprehensive understanding of the EU's external action which now goes beyond CFSP, CSDP, trade policy, development cooperation and humanitarian aid; and includes external dimensions of several traditionally internal policy areas such as climate, energy, migration, or technological development. The weakness of most existing studies is their fragmentation: they present recommendations with respect to one layer of the EU's external action without considering its interdependence with other EU policies. By embracing a comprehensive understanding of security and accounting for the linkages between the various EU policies that contribute to the Union's external performance, the ENGAGE White Paper will

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[8] A list of selected White Papers published by the European Union's institutions is available via Eur-Lex.
[9] A list of the White Papers published by think tanks is presented in Appendix 2.

offer recommendations that meet the needs of policymakers. Moreover, ENGAGE will also produce suggestions on how to coordinate Member States' foreign policies on the basis of common EU positions, which is a prerequisite for a more assertive global role of the Union.

Another unique selling point, is the purpose. The ENGAGE White Paper will go beyond an educational and informative nature by suggesting concrete and actionable policy recommendations for effective, coherent and sustainable EU external action that meet the needs of decision and policymakers. Thus, it will serve as a playbook to guide decision-making and can serve as a basis for further consultation and discussion on the European level. In this regard, the ENGAGE White Paper could not only complement the process and the deliberations about the EU's place in the world that occur in a framework of the Conference on Future of Europe (citizens-leg; a new debate with citizens to address Europe's challenges and priorities, incl. the EU in the world) and the Strategic Compass (defence and security -leg; a process aimed at bringing clarity, guidance and incentives to completing CSDP, which will specify and operationalise the level of ambition defined by the European Global Strategy) but it could also serve as an inspiration and important input for revision or fine-tuning of the EU Global Strategy 2016.

The third unique characteristic derives from the fact that the content of the White Paper will be based on work carried out by an interdisciplinary and international group of researchers. The ENGAGE team combines political science, IR, law and global governance studies, providing an approach to EU external action that corresponds to the multidimensional reality of EU external action. Moreover, the academic excellence of the researchers involved underscores the quality of the analysis while the involvement of experts from think tanks guarantees the translation of scientific findings into policy practice, which is fundamental for effectively reaching decision-makers.

The next feature of the ENGAGE White Paper will be the format. The White Paper will be concise and will be drafted in a manner that is easy to understand and without unnecessary jargon or technical terminology. In our goal to ensure the complementarity of various "strands" of foreign policy and coherence between various tools of foreign policy, we will frame the White Paper with language that bridges various domains. Ideas often get "lost in translation" between different institutions and sectors who operate with different terminology and different mindsets. The ENGAGE White Paper will ensure that the ideas expressed are understandable and can be utilised by stakeholders from various sectors.

Finally, another feature that distinguishes the ENAGE White Paper from other similar studies is the foreseen validation process that precedes the dissemination of the study and aims to gather insights and feedback from a wide range of stakeholders on pre-formulated policy recommendations. The process – discussion with the ENGAGE International Advisory Board as well as workshops with national decision-makers, think tankers, administrative employees and members of EU institutions charged with strategising and/or implemented EU external action in seven EU (Brussels, Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Warsaw, Bratislava, Helsinki) and three non-EU capitals (London, Ankara, Kiev) will allow the proposed solutions to be better tailored to the needs of the target groups. Contemporary foreign policy has no chance to be successful if it

is shaped primarily through traditional foreign policy institutions and by traditional foreign policy actors. Our multi-stakeholder approach will ensure that the ideas expressed in the White Paper are relevant and achievable. In this way, the applicability of the White Paper and the feasibility of its recommendations will be much higher than those of other strategic documents that are often produced in separation from political practice. We will also put a strong emphasis on communication of the ENGAGE strategic document. A strong dissemination plan will ensure that the ideas outlined are absorbed by relevant decision makers, opinion shapers and policy implementors. We will rely on the channels of the validation process, the ENGAGE website, mailing list and its social media channels, channels of partner institutions and the final ENGAGE conference to achieve the highest possible reach for policy proposals and increase the rate of internalisation of our ideas.

5   Conclusion

The aim of the presented working paper has been twofold: to provide a theoretical orientation for further research within the ENGAGE project and to chart a way for the White Paper for Effective, Coherent and Sustainable External Action that will be put forward in 2024 and discussed with experts and policymakers in EU capitals and in the EU's neighbourhood. Against this backdrop, we provided the definitions of the three overarching concepts that have been identified as crucial for enhancing EU's external action – effectiveness, coherence and sustainability. We also reflected on the understanding of indicators and provided criteria for their development with regard to the external action of the EU. A presentation of the idea and the scope of the White Paper followed and shed light on its aims, expected content and the features that shall distinguish the final product of the ENGAGE project from similar documents produced by EU institutions and think tanks. The inclusive, multidisciplinary and comprehensive character of the analysis presented in the ENGAGE White Paper, backed up by an inclusive and representative EU-wide conversation, will ensure the proposed solutions will be tailored to the needs of the target groups and, therefore, will address the policy-relevant aspects of EU external engagement.

Against this backdrop, this working paper serves as a starting point for the ENGAGE project. Over the next three years, the ENGAGE consortium will engage in research on various aspects of EU's external action following the definitions presented in this working paper. International teams will investigate legal and institutional provisions of this policy area, reflect on the instruments and mechanisms guiding the execution of CFSP, CSDP, external policies and external dimensions of Union's internal policies, explore the EU's relations with its strategic partners and neighbours and study the contestation and public support for the EU's external action in its Member States.[10] This in-depth research shall provide the background for innovative ideas on how to improve the Union's external action and make it more effective, coherent and sustainable. The output of the research process carried out within the ENGAGE project will be then translated into political practice, summarised and compiled in the White Paper which aims to support the European Union in facing the "enormity of the challenges" (European Commission, 2021) of a turbulent international order.

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[10] A detailed description of the topics addressed by the ENGAGE consortium can be found on the project website: https://www.engage-eu.eu/

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Appendix 2: List of White Papers Published by Think Tanks

- *European defence: A proposal for a White Paper*
  Institute for Security Studies – 2004
  https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/wp2004.pdf

- *European Union Security and Defence White Paper: A Proposal*
  Friedrich Ebert Foundation – 2010
  http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/ipa/07075.pdf

- *For a European White Paper on Security and Defence*
  Foundation Robert Schuman – 2015
  https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0360-for-a-european-white-paper-on-security-and-defence

- *Liberal White Book: Europe 2030*
  European Liberal Forum – 2021
  https://www.liberalforum.eu/publications/liberal-white-book-europe-2030/

- *NATO and Russia: Bridge-Building for the 21st Century Report of the Working Group on NATO-Russia Relations*
  Rand Corporation – 2002
  https://www.rand.org/pubs/white_papers/WP128.html

- *The New 'Europe of Security': Elements for a European White Paper on Security and Defence*
  Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – 2017
  https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2017C20_bdk.pdf

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The ENGAGE Working Papers are peer-reviewed publications based on research from the EU Horizon 2020 funded project no. 962533, entitled *Envisioning a New Governance Architecture for a Global Europe,* which runs from January 2021 to June 2024.

ENGAGE examines how the EU can effectively and sustainably meet strategic challenges by harnessing all of its tools to become a stronger global actor. As a starting point, the project defines the challenges of global governance and international relations, as well as the acceptability of advancing EU external action among citizens and policymakers. Taking a comprehensive approach, ENGAGE also maps and assesses the EU's capabilities, governance structures and strategic objectives in the realms of CSDP, CFSP, external action and 'external action plus'.

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